



(C) Keystone

ADMIRAL  
NICHOLAS HORTHY

He has been named Regent of Hungary, by the National Assembly.

Admiral Horthy, commander-in-chief of the Hungarian Army, was formerly commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian Navy and headed the army organized in opposition to the Communist rule in Hungary.

**DO YOU** realize the real conditions in Hungary, the slaughter that is still going on there?

This article brings conditions right home to you, conditions in which America is interested whether she wills so or not.

PERHAPS upon no country of the world, with the exception of Armenia, has the late war inflicted such a terrible catastrophe as upon Hungary. Serbia and Poland have had their share of horrors; but they at least emerged victorious and today are steering more or less safely toward the haven of a better future. Hungary, after losing more than a million of her sons in a war where victory would have meant for her absorption by Prussia, has suffered a defeat comparable only to the disaster of Poland in 1772, the year of the first partition.

By the Treaty of Neuilly she loses over one-half of her territory, and with it practically all the natural resources indispensable to her growing industries; thrown back upon the Danubian plain, shorn of her mines, forests and the greater portion of her railroads, she is unable to support even her diminished population; over three million Magyars, at the lowest estimate, will fall under the domination of hostile races, and the largest proportion of them under that of Rumania, the most backward and corrupt oligarchy in Europe.

The loss of territory, riches and population, however, together with the humiliation of utter defeat, does not constitute the worst aspect of Hungary's collapse. Sound statesmanship, taking the lead of the virile genius of the Magyar race, might evolve a prosperous state even in the remaining rump of the old Hungarian kingdom. A policy of conciliation, a recognition of past errors and the determination to make the most of a reality however depressing, might lead to a rapprochement to the victorious neighbors, to economic agreements insuring, in exchange for Magyar wheat and corn, the coal and iron and industrial products of Czechoslovakia, the cattle and pork of Jugo-Slavia, the timber and minerals of Transylvania, and, in the end, to the formation of that Danubian confederation which ever since Kossuth has been the goal of democratic leaders and thinkers in Southeastern Europe.

Indeed, the possibilities of a Magyar evolution along the indicated lines were at hand when, on October 30, 1918, the "bloodless revolution" at Budapest, led by the pro-Entente statesman, Count Michael Karolyi, and the foremost Magyar champion of democracy and the rights of the oppressed nationalities, Dr. Oscar Jaszai, overthrew the Hapsburg monarchy, established the people's republic and ordered the immediate withdrawal of Magyar troops from all fronts. It would take us too far afield to explain why this attempt of a group of genuine liberals and idealists to make Hungary safe for democracy and a Wilsonian peace (in the old sense of this term) ended in a dismal failure. Let it suffice to say that, owing chiefly to the ignorance and ill will of Allied statesmen, above all to the wild designs of French militarists, the Karolyi régime and with it Magyar democracy was thrown to the wolves.

Bolshevism followed, and when in the first days of August, 1919, the anti-Bolshevik Social Democrats and Trade Unionists of Budapest, led on by promises of Allied support, overturned Bela Kun and the Communists, their labors were rewarded by the entry of the Rumanian army into Budapest and the occupation of the larger part of what remained of the old Hungary by the bloodthirsty and greedy troops of Rumania's Hohenzollern king.

But even the horrors of the Rumanian occupation, which ended in despoiling the unfortunate country of her food supplies, rolling stock, machinery, gold bullion and even of privately-owned jewelry, clothing and household effects, were mild in comparison to what followed. For the presence of the Rumanian forces gave the much-longed-for opportunity to the Magyar junker reactionaries who during the Karolyi democracy and the subsequent Communist period were busy in no end of intrigues behind the Rumanian and Serb lines of demarcation, in Vienna and in Switzerland. Under the protection of the Rumanian arms these reactionary adventurers representing the worst and most extreme element of the old autocratic régime of Count Tisza, stepped back to power. Deceiving the chief representative of the Allies, Sir George Clerk, with high-sounding promises of a national coalition government and all-round fair play, the reactionaries firmly established their régime and obtained a de facto recognition.

# The "White" Orgy in Hungary— Breeding Another War

By EUGENE S. BAGGER

The cable report of February 21, stating that Admiral Horthy, head of the so-called Hungarian National Army which occupied Budapest after the departure of the Rumanians last November, has been appointed regent by the newly-elected Constituent Assembly would indicate to the uninitiated that Hungary has again entered the path of law and order. What the report in fact means is that the White Terror, which has had Hungary in its clutches ever since last August, has reached its temporary climax. The next step—merely a question of months, perhaps weeks—will be the restoration of monarchy; and with that the tragedy of Hungary will be consummated; not, however, the tragedy of Europe. For the restoration of monarchy in Hungary heralds another war as certainly as lightning heralds thunder and sunrise day.

## Developments Ignored in America

IT IS amazing how utterly American public opinion ignores the developments in Hungary. It is not merely that the present government of that unfortunate country has inaugurated a reign of terror comparable only to the worst period of Czarism or the horrors of Turkish rule in Armenia. It is not merely that under the dictatorship of Admiral Horthy, which at last has thrown off the disguise of the Huszar-Friedrich "coalition cabinet," Hungary has been the scene of the killing and torturing of hundreds of innocent Jews, of an unexampled persecution of liberals, of a veritable Holy Inquisition trampling under its heel every vestige of free speech and opinion, and resorting to the destruction of entire libraries.

Revolting as these things are—or ought to be—to American humanitarian sentiment, a narrow-minded, insular "Americanism" may argue that they are matters of a domestic concern for Hungary, and none of America's business. The good persons who take this line forget the lesson of that pistol-shot which on June 28, 1914, ended the life of an Austrian archduke and started off the greatest war of history. Six years ago not one American in a million even suspected that the domestic policies of Austria-Hungary would originate a European quarrel in which ultimately the lives of over two million American boys and the prosperity and happiness of the American commonwealth were to be involved. Similarly, the present White Terror in Hungary will, if left unchecked, inevitably result in another explosion in Southeastern Europe which once more will put into jeopardy the peace and safety of America.

Before pointing out the international implications of the Hungarian White Terror, it is necessary briefly to review its gruesome achievements at home, as its domestic policies furnish the best clue to the psychology of its leaders.

The present Hungarian Government is based on the so-called National Army of Admiral Horthy, an officer of the former Austro-Hungarian Navy who had distinguished himself in the World War. The nucleus of this National Army is formed by a number of units organized by counter-revolutionary officers, formerly of the Imperial and Royal army, behind the Serb and Rumanian lines of demarcation, while Bela Kun was in power at Budapest. After the overthrow of the Communists these units were not permitted by the French command to enter Budapest, then occupied by the Rumanians. Instead, they crossed over into the Transdanubian country, where their number was augmented by other volunteer corps recruited by young aristocratic officers. All these units were then coordinated under the command of Admiral Horthy, who struck his headquarters at Siofok, a fashionable resort on the Lake Balaton (Plattensee).

While the main body of this army remained encamped at Siofok, waiting for the departure of the Rumanians from Budapest, a number of detachments, led mostly by young noblemen: the Counts Esterhazy, Szechenyi, Vay and Salm, the Barons Pronay, Pongracz and Nopcsa, undertook the task of clearing the country from Communists and Communist sympathizers. That is to say, this was the official pretext of their activities which developed into a wholesale killing of Jews unparalleled since the Middle Ages anywhere in Europe west of Russia. A detachment, led by a youthful officer of noble birth, would enter a town or village and line up the Jewish inhabitants. Then, in some instances, the unfortunates were shot, bayoneted or hanged without any further preliminaries, in others only "examples" were made of a few, the rest being left off at the price of high ransoms and a flogging. Some of the victims were tortured to death. In all cases the homes of the Jewish population were sacked, the high-born officers securing the lion's share of the booty. Even the bodies of the victims were stripped.

The Vienna Arbeiter-Zeitung, a journal of high standing and organ of the anti-Bolshevik right wing of Austrian Social Democracy, records on the deposition of eye-witnesses that the White gangs operating in the west of Hungary murdered twenty-five Jews in one week in the little village of Marczali. Nine were executed at Lengyeloti, eight in Csurgó, four in Fonyód. Unspeakable atrocities were committed at Simontornya, Dunafoldvar, Paks, Janoshaza, Czell-domolk and other places.

A group of 42, containing also a few Gentiles suspected of Socialist (not Bolshevist!) sympathies, rounded up in near-by villages, were taken by White

officers to a wood outside Admiral Horthy's camp at Siofok. The prisoners were first compelled to dig their own graves. This being done, a company of soldiers, armed with trench knives, were turned loose on them. All but two were killed. These two, severely stabbed, were buried alive with the forty corpses.

This story was related by a sergeant of the old Hungarian army, Stephen Hayden, who had been employed as a jailer by Captain Freisberger, in charge of the prison at Siofok. After witnessing unspeakable horrors, Hayden turned sick of his job and applied for discharge. Freisberger told him he "knew too much for being allowed to leave the camp alive," whereupon he was thrown into a cell and threatened with execution. Assisted by his wife, he managed to escape to Budapest, whence he fled, with the aid of a Czechoslovak officer, to Prague. Here he told his experiences to the newspapers. In a cell at the Siofok prison he saw one night eight men strung up on pegs in the wall, and thirty-two lying on the floor, stabbed to death. He also related how he was compelled to wit-



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COUNT MICHAEL KAROLYI

Former president of the Hungarian Republic. Count Karolyi was in office from the time of the signing of the armistice, until March, when he resigned and turned over the authority to the Communists, headed by Bela Kun, giving for his reason, that he could not recognize the boundaries of Hungary as outlined by the Peace Conference.

ness, at a place called Csibetelep, the murder of thirty-six prisoners. Bayonets were used to finish the unfortunates whose dead bodies were robbed of all valuables by the White officers.

## Hanged for a Name

THESE massacres were conducted under the pretext that the men thus slaughtered were "dangerous Communists." Far from this being the truth, some of the victims were rich Jews who had suffered heavily under the Communist rule. Thus one of the White officers, Count Salm, hanged the Jewish manufacturer and financier Freund de Toszeg, member of one of the leading millionaire families in Hungary, together with his brother-in-law, one Mr. Hamburger. It happened that one of the People's Commissaries in the defunct Bolshevik government also bore the name Hamburger, a commonplace German surname. The two Hamburgers were not even related, but the coincidence of names was sufficient in the eyes of Count Salm to warrant the execution of an innocent man. This same Count Salm had, at Dunafoldvar, murdered a prosperous Jew, Steiner by name, and robbed the victim, in

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